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NAACP Confab Maps Fight To Finish School Jim Crow

Demands of Auto Workers Shown During Strikes

By Myra Tanner

JUNE 22 — Ford workers throughout the country are now recording their votes, for and against the new three-year contract negotiated by the UAW-CIO officials. Three hundred delegates to the national GM council of the UAW are studying the text of their contract and, like the Ford council will probably recommend ratification of the three year contract.

[Latest reports are that 17,567 Ford Rouge workers voted in favor of the recently negotiated contract, while 8,236 voted against acceptance. Out of the 47,000 working at Rouge, only 25,803 voted. The UAW-GM Council voted to ratify the contract negotiated by Reuther with the corporation. — Ed.]

General Motors agreed to set aside a trust fund of $150,000,000 to be doled out, starting next year, to those who get laid off their jobs. Meanwhile, GM announced that $500,000,000 will be spent for expansion. This will bring the total taken out of profits for expansion in the post-war period to $4 billion.

EVERYBODY HAPPY?

It's been a mighty profitable period for the du Pont family. And Harlow H. Curtice, with touching concern for GM workers, said hopefully, "Our new three-year agreements hold out the promise of three more years of industrial peace for our employes."

GM is happy. Ford is happy. Reuther is pleased as punch. But the hundreds of thousands of Ford and GM workers who demonstrated with "wildcat" strikes during and after the negotiations, expressed their dissatisfaction with the terms of the "peace."

The Ford-UAW agreement, announced on June 6, set the pattern for the entire industry. GM workers didn't wait for the conclusion of their own negotiations to express their view of the proposed settlement. On June 10, twenty Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants, involving 60,000 workers, were closed by local strike action.

Union officials from South Gate, California, in the process of negotiations in Detroit, had to fly home to try to break the local strike action of 5,200 workers. John W. Livingston, in charge of the General Motors division of the UAW had to plead with his own local in St. Louis to get them to go back to work.

One thousand skilled workers in five GM plants in Flint left their jobs for two hours on June 9. Through their spokesman, Harold Frye, they said, "We're always the last to be laid off anyway. We'd rather have more money and have some other problems straightened out than agree to the same thing the union got from Ford."

STRIKE WAVE SPREADS

On June 13, after the announcement of the agreement with General Motors, local strike action grew rapidly. An estimated total of 134,000 workers walked off the job in 44 of GM's 119 plants. In Flint and Pontiac the union officials paid for spot radio announcements to exhort the members to return to work.

At AC Spark Plug in Flint,

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Rank and File Pressure

GM workers in South Gate, Calif., shown picketing plant during recent national negotiations for demands company and union negotiators were ignoring in their sessions. Above scene was duplicated at many GM and Ford plants. UAW Pres. Reuther appealed for a return to work, saying walkouts were "sabotaging negotiations."

Injunctions Fought by Miami Union

In the face of heavy assaults from the police and injunction-happy judges, striking hotel workers in the Miami area are holding firm.

The day after municipal elections in Miami Beach, police made mass arrests on the few picket lines which hadn't yet been banned by injunctions. The charge against the pickets was loitering without visible means of support. Thirty-one members of AFL Hotel Workers Union Local 255 were held on $100 bail each. A strike meeting voted to fill the jails of Miami Beach if the police tried this strike-breaking stunt again.

A break in the injunction picture came on June 20 when a circuit court ruling allowed picketing to be resumed at six hotels. Champion injunctioneer is Judge Vincent Giblin who has given the hotel owners sixteen injunctions. Giblin has refused to disqualify himself though for years he was a law partner of Marion Sibley, leading attorney for the hotel owners.

SOUTHERN DRIVE

All Dade County labor unions have united behind the AFL Hotel Workers in their fight against government - by - injunction. Another result of the strike has been the formation in Washington, D. C., of a joint AFL-CIO committee to aid the strike and consider the problems of organizing Southern labor. The committee is composed of ten AFL and CIO International presidents.

The prospects for a big Southern organizing drive by the merged AFL-CIO may be gauged by the recent statements of AFL Teamsters President Dave Beck, a member of the new committee. In the June issue of the International Teamster, Beck has a letter to the members. In it he says:

"When union organization really begins to roll in the South, results will come with the suddenness of a thunderclap. The storm has been lurking behind the mountain for many years; the deluge is about to begin."

This conservative, business unionist also states: "To me it was a wonderful experience recently to attend a meeting of the Southern Conference of Teamsters, and see along with the rest of our good people, members of the Negro race. I repeat that our union does not recognize a color line. I care not whether that is popular or unpopular."

Eisenhower's Idea for Civil Defense

"Operation Alert" Seen As Hoax on U.S. Public

The American people were submitted, June 15, to a simulated H-bomb attack on 61 cities. Millions were assumed killed, millions wounded and millions homeless. Casualties were understated, not exaggerated. People were herded off the streets into doorways or basements. School children crouched in hallways against the walls of school buildings with only their backs exposed.

The executive branch of the federal government evacuated Washington and set up a dictatorship in pantomime to assure anyone who might still care that the government was still functioning.

Pacifists demonstrated in New York. They refused to obey civil defense orders on the grounds that "There is no defense from the Hydrogen Bomb." The Catholic Worker distributed a leaflet saying: "Fear is now the American Way of Life." They were herded into police wagons and taken to jail.

Questions were raised in Washington as to why no hiding places were provided for Congress or the Supreme Court. Administration personnel went to the "secret" headquarters leaving angry wives with their children in the assumed "target area." One Civil Defense official in the Capital was fired because he called the operation "ridiculous." He said it wasn't a drill. It was a show. Operation Alert, he declared, "couldn't cope with a brushfire threatening a dog-house in a backyard."

Newspaper reporters could learn of the "secret" headquarters of the government from elevator operators or hotel bellmen. The only thing that wasn't simulated, some reporters said, was the confusion that prevailed.

Harold Stassen, the new Peace Secretary, was better prepared. His employees received printed post-cards that could be mailed free in case of a real attack, with appropriate blanks to be filled in, describing injuries, present residence and informing the Department when they would be able to return to work. The post office will, of course, make mail deliveries, not only through "rain or snow" — but atomic attacks as well — presumably with geiger counters to guide them.

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, the atomic scientist, said on June 19 that Operation Alert was "obsolete before it began." Simulated thermonuclear bombing was not treated "seriously." An H-bomb could put a "radioactive ash over 100,000 square miles" which would remain deadly to anyone exposed to it more than a day or two, for weeks after the blast.

Eisenhower and his civil defense administrator, Val Peterson, repeated their "dig and pray" routine of a few months ago.

Peterson, after the "test" was over, advised: The best thing for people who live 11 or 12 miles from a presumed target to do "this very minute, is to get busy and build in their back yard a shelter that will permit them to get three feet of dirt over their heads." In this way Mr. Peterson thinks, people will get "more peace of mind than by moving to Tahiti, or Laos or Tibet."

Eisenhower said: "The most devout daily prayers that any of us has, should be uttered in the supplication that this kind of disaster never come to the United States."

Big Business Parties Scored for Blocking Civil Rights Measures

By George Lavan

ATLANTIC CITY, June 23 — Radiating optimism and self-confidence the delegates to the 46th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are mapping plans to vigorously press the fight to end school segregation in the Deep South and wherever else it exists in this country.

The convention is being held at the Atlantic City High School. Some 750 delegates and alternates are in attendance. There is also a large number of visitors.

Indicative of the growing alliance of the NAACP and the labor movement is the presence of a number of fraternal delegates from AFL and CIO unions. Moreover, the discussion on Organized Labor and the NAACP drew the largest panel attendance.

SOUTHERN DELEGATES

The large Southern delegations to the convention are very impressive. These local NAACP leaders strike the onlooker as people of ability and great earnestness. It must be kept in kind that it takes a man or woman of great courage to lead the NAACP in Mississippi and similar regions.

In discussion from the floor, delegate after delegate inquired as to specific steps to be taken in various local situations to get the legal machinery in motion on desegregation and thus wring whatever gains can be made from the Supreme Court decision.

Though the Supreme Court's implementing decision in the school segregation cases affords the white-supremacist many legal stalling devices, it was clearly evident that NAACP branches throughout the Southern states, are not disheartened. They have already taken the first legal steps in their fight. In Mississippi alone 100 petitions have been filed with school boards by Negro parents aking that integration be started.

In his speech last night Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, who directed the long court battle on school segregation, outlined plans and perspectives for the continuation of the struggle.

Marshall declared that despite threats of endless litigation and unlawful acts by the White Citizens Councils, "We take the position that we find absolutely nothing to retard us in adhering to our general program — to push ahead without delay in insisting upon desegregation in all of the Southern states."

NAACP DEMANDS

The NAACP's demands on the Southern school boards will be: (1) That they give minimum evidence of "good faith" by declaring that race can no longer be a basis of assigning students to schools; (2) that by this September they work out plans for desegregation; (3) that some concrete steps toward desegregation be put into effect for the 1955 school term; (4) that the board's plan include step-by-step desegregation during the coming school year; (5) finally, that desegregation be completed no later than the school term starting September, 1956.

Commenting sharply on the political pressure on the NAACP to soft-peddle the issue of

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Bitter Lesson Of Right-Wing Strikebreaking

By Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

CLEVELAND — A union bureaucrat on a strikebreaking binge is like an idiot running loose with a loaded gun. Strikebreaking is a lethal weapon invented for the **sole benefit of the employers. Its use to purge an opposition within the union movement enables the class enemy to turn the purge attack into a union-busting assault.**

Farrell Dobbs

Grim proof of that result will be found in this city's recent history. The telling of the story requires a brief sketch of the local witch hunt from which strikebreaking arose.

Something like 100,000 Cleveland workers belong to the AFL and 60,000 to the CIO. The CIO has its main strength and biggest units in auto and steel. Elsewhere in the highly diversified industries small local unions, both CIO and AFL, are quite typical.

ACTU PENETRATION

Since over half the city's population are Catholics, a high ratio of people holding that faith turned up in the union membership and in union office. A built-in device was therefore at hand for the Catholic hierarchy to intervene directly in unions.

Fractions of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists were formed. Cadre elements and prospective recruits were

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Wall Street's Design In Argentina's Crisis

By Sam Marcy

Workers interested in the recent crisis in Argentina should look to Wall Street, rather than the Vatican for the clue to its real significance. The excommunication of Peron from the Catholic Church will be viewed by many religious spokesmen throughout the world, and Catholics in particular, as a spiritual act of self-defense against religious persecution.

But the Pope's actions, however spiritual they may be, have their material roots in Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard of California, and in the Royal Dutch Shell monopoly group. Not all the denials in London and in Washington, nor the silence of Peron himself, can erase this sordid fact.

When Nelson A. Rockefeller resigned his post as coordinator of Inter-American affairs, it wasn't because he had lost interest in Latin-American oil, but the better to serve those interests. That's why he moved into the White House to assume the post of "Director of Psychological Warfare" as part of Eisenhower's inner clique.

In like manner, when Winthrop Aldrich resigned as Chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Bank, and assumed the post of Ambassador to Britain, it was not only to strengthen the Rockefeller representation in Britain on the Iranian oil crisis, but to coordinate the British interests in the Royal Dutch Shell with America's Standard Oil in Latin America in general, **and in Argentina in particular.**

WHY THEY FAILED

For more than two decades, and long before Peron ever came to power, the imperialist foreign monopolies had desperately tried to cut Argentina down to the size of a Latin American banana-republic satellite. They were unable to do so because of their preoccupation with World War II and the Korean War and because Argentina is a basic source of wheat and beef, both enormously strategic products in great demand during war.

A fact of no less significance is the phenomenal growth of the Argentine working class, which even a decade ago, outranked Brazil's and Mexico's, countries which have larger populations.

The termination of the Korean War, and the apparent easing of the cold war (at least for the time being) signalled a deterioration in the international economic position of Argentina. Why? Because it meant sharp reduction in the demand for beef and wheat for the far-flung imperialist armies. It also meant that whatever maneuverability the Argentine government enjoyed in the sale of its agricultural products, would now be sharply curtailed.

Agricultural products of dependent countries, particularly of Latin America, are always sold at abysmally low prices, dictated by the foreign imperialist monopolies. The end of the Korean war brought still lower prices (even though last year Argentina still had a record in total exports). The time had plainly arrived for Yankee imperialism to revert openly to its classic view of Argentina as nothing but a warehouse of raw materials and natural resources for pillage and plunder.

For the U. S., the end of the Korean War meant an enormous increase in "surplus" wheat, which now amounts to the gi-

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The Strange Case of the "Model Boy"

By Joyce Cowley

A policeman's lot is not a happy one . . . that's what Gilbert and Sullivan wrote years ago and after recent developments in the drive against juvenile delinquency, I'm sure New York's finest will agree. Things started badly last week when 21 teen-agers were picked up in a police raid on a neighborhood candy store in the Bronx. Among the desperadoes caught drinking sodas at 10 P.M. were a high school honor student whose mother was a Liberal Party candidate for State Senator, a hard-working night student at City College and the crippled manager of a YMCA baseball team.

Most of the kids spent a night in jail while their parents tried to raise $500 bail. When the case came to court, the Magistrate dismissed the charges with a blunt statement: "I'm getting case after case with big publicity in the newspapers but when the police come in, there's **no proof."**

This embarrassing candy store raid was part of the intensified "police action" to combat juvenile crime in the Bronx, touched off by the Blankenship murder over a month ago. The day following the raid brought startling developments in the Blankenship case. William Blankenship Jr., model boy from a good home, was shot by Frank Santana, Puerto Rican "tough guy" from the slums.

The feeling against Puerto Ricans ran high. Santana's family was threatened; his younger brother was afraid to go to school. Dozens of young Puerto Ricans were picked up by the police on flimsy charges ("unlawful assembly" has become the most popular excuse). **They were threatened, questioned and thoroughly intimidated before they were released. Reactionary newspapers and public officials demanded the electric chair for this vicious beast who struck down such a fine, decent American boy.**

So it was a surprise when the D. A. asked for a reduction in the charge from 1st to 2nd degree murder. William Blankenship Jr., he reluctantly admitted, was not a model boy. He did belong to a rival gang, he was "fool-hardy, spoiling for a fight" and was the aggressor in the dispute with Santana.

Why the astonishing silence about this on the part of the D.A.'s office? For a month the Daily News and Journal American had been hollering for a death penalty, while Santana's family was threatened and Puerto Ricans in the area were attacked by both their neighbors and the police! D.A. Sullivan let his assistant, Andrew McCarthy, do the explaining:

"We were under no obligation to set the newspapers straight. In the long run the truth would have prevailed. This morning was the first opportunity I had to do anything about it."

A reporter from the Post asked: "Wouldn't continued misleading reports on the case help build up pressure for a first degree murder conviction?"

"I know that," McCarthy replied. "I realized I would be a most unpopular man today. But I am the father of seven children. I couldn't sleep at night . . ."

He still insisted he felt no obligation to demolish the "model boy" reputation of Blankenship, although false reports may have inflamed the public. "How can you interfere with the press?" he asked. "I would be accused of tampering."

TORMENTED

You can see how the problems are building up — insomnia, a delicate relationship with the public and the press, the threat of personal unpopularity because he is reluctant to send a 17-year old kid to the electric chair. . .

McCarthy says he first learned of Blankenship's gang affiliations on May 2, the same day that his boss, D.A. Sullivan described the crime as a "senseless killing in a quiet neighborhood invaded by hoodlums who didn't belong there. Maybe Sullivan forgot to check his assistant's notes.

Insomnia is affecting jurors, too. One of the 12 who brought in a verdict of first degree murder against a boy 16, sentenced to die in the electric chair July 10, has been twisting and turning at night. Seems he can't forget that juror who knew the boy was guilty before he ever heard the case in court, because he read about it in the newspapers. This may mean a new trial.

Well, as I said at the start, it's tough on cops and all the others who are trying so hard. They round up law-breakers who turn out to be a bunch of real good kids. They nab a Puerto Rican "gangster" and find out a little too late he was probably defending himself against the "model" boy. They get a youngster all set for the chair and a juror begins to lose sleep. They really want to do a job on these teen-age hoodlums, but the truth comes out and they haven't got a case. A policeman's lot . . .

Chain-Gang Victim

Willie Reid, Negro fugitive from a Florida chain gang won a delay till July 1 in his extradition from New York. Defended by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Reid told how he was arrested in Florida without a warrant and given a 15-year sentence without a trial as the result of a fight in which he defended himself. On the chain gang, he relates, prisoners were beaten and one murdered. The NAACP attorney argued that Reid is a fugitive from injustice. Only action by Governor Harriman, who has once signed the extradition papers, can save Reid.

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — VIII

The Sit-Down Wave and Little Steel Strike

By Art Preis

Under proper conditions, the sit-down is the most effective strike tactic ever devised. Although used in this country as far back as 1892 and employed by the IWW before World War I, the sit-down became a veritable tidal wave during the first two years of the CIO. It swept all before it in the period following the conquest of GM.

The sit-down was, in fact, an international phenomenon of the mid-thirties. It appeared simultaneously in a number of capitalist countries. In 1934, coal miners at Terbovlyey, Jugoslavia, in Pecs, Hungary, and in Katowice, Poland, stayed down in the pits in desperate actions that won victories. Greek tobacco workers took over a factory that same year. Some 3,000 Spanish copper miners in 1935 remained in the Huelva pits for ten days. Coal miners in Wales, Scotland and France adopted the tactic successfully. In Pondicherry, India, textile workers applied it with complete effect. And, in France during 1936, a million workers sat down at one time in the key industries.

Within a month of the GM settlement, the sit-downs spread to every kind of industry and trade, from Chrysler auto workers in nine plants to 5 and 10c store women, Western Union messengers, restaurant and hotel employes, dressmakers, milliners, bindery workers, garbage collectors, glass blowers and tire builders. They sat down in movie theatre projection booths, WPA projects, shirt factories and on shipboard.

The workers showed marvelous ingenuity and expended great labor in conducting long sit-downs or "stay-ins," as they were also called. Their chief problems were food, bedding, sanitation, recreation, discipline and defense. Elaborate organization and committees were required to keep everything running smoothly. Outside committees and women's auxiliaries kept food supplies pouring in to the sit-downers. Bands, entertainers, radios, phonographs, checkers and cards were obtained. Rigid rules against smoking and drinking were enforced. Cleanliness even went a nose ahead of Godliness—the strikers kept the premises spotless always, while they sometimes missed Sunday services. There is not a single reported case of dirt or damage as the result of a sit-down except in the tiny fraction of cases of police attack and invasion.

The very non-violence of the sit-downs infuriated the employers and their government agents. It was impossible for police or troops to provoke violence without clearly initiating it themselves. They had to attack and break into plants where there was obviously no disorder, because strikers were on the inside, strikebreakers on the outside. Thus, only 25 sit-down strikes were broken by police of the more than 1,000 sit-downs reported by the press in 1936 and 1937.

Sit-downs maintained high morale among strikers. Prolonged picketing outdoors in rain, cold or snow can become a real ordeal. The sight of strikebreakers, escorted by armies of police, marching into a struck plant does no good to the spirit of strikers. As J. Raymond Walsh noted in his 1937 book on the CIO: "Nothing pleases a striker like the sight of smokeless chimneys. The sit-down does the job more easily and surely."

"Soldiers Holding the Fort"

The sit-downs heightened the sense of comradeship and solidarity among the strikers. The strength of all became the strength of each. One GM striker expressed it to Lewis' biographer Alinsky: "It was like we was soldiers holding the fort. It was like war. The guys with me became my buddies. **I remember as a kid in school reading about Davey Crockett and the last stand at the Alamo. You know, mister, that's just how I felt. Yes sir, Chevy No. 4 was my Alamo."**

But, unlike the Alamo, the sit-downs seldom ended in defeat. Almost all won partial or complete victories. It must be added that despite the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935, which supplanted the defunct section 7(a) of the NRA, more than 50% of the sit-downs were for simple union recognition. The Wagner Act proved no more effective than section 7(a) in protecting the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively. **It took a couple of million workers in the 1936-37 sit-down wave to actually seize that right by the seizure of hundreds upon hundreds of factories and other places of work.**

The sit-down tide gradually ebbed after 1937. In some states, employer-dominated legislatures enacted laws with severe penalties for "trespass" on company property during strikes. A number of local and state courts found them "illegal." But they had almost ceased to occur by the time the U.S. Supreme Court issued an unfavorable ruling on them in 1940.

Even before the courts had effectively intervened, however, the union leaders themselves had put the lid on sit-downs. The very success and effectiveness of this form of labor combat frightened the union officialdom. The sit-down gave tremendous power to the rank and file. In a few hours or days they were able to win from the bosses more than the union leaders could gain by years of "labor statesmanship" in "across the table" conferences.

AFL President William Green, of course, openly attacked the sit-downs. Directly after the CIO's GM victory, Green solemnly warned that the sit-down had "grave implications detrimental to labor's interests" and "must be disavowed by the thinking men and women of labor." He further claimed that "temporary advantages gained through sit-down strikes will inevitably lead to permanent injury." He added: "Both personally and officially, I disavow the sit-down strike as a part of the economic and organization policy of the AFL."

Of course, scores of AFL unions participated in the sit-down wave and, although primarily a CIO weapon, the sit-down won not a few victories for the AFL.

Lewis had commented on Green's remark: "He again sells his own breed down the river." "He 'bends' the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning'," added the CIO chairman, in an effective if rather obscure quotation from Shakespeare's **Hamlet**. But the CIO leaders were by no means enthusiasts about this method of struggle. They were merely swept along for a while in the spontaneous flood.

"Some CIO leaders confess to a private anxiety, and hope that the sit-down will give way to more familiar tactics," reported Walsh, an intimate of the CIO top leaders, in his CIO Industrial Unionism in Action.

It is important to note that the sit-down technique was confined almost exclusively to the new unions and to newly-organized workers, especially those organizations where more democratic policies prevailed. Of the 484,711 sit-downers between September 1936 and June 1937, some 278,000 belonged to new unions and 182,000 to unions formed since the start of NRA in 1933. There were 247,095 auto sitters; 42,167 in rubber; 22,270 in textiles; and 12,996 in iron and steel. But in old unionized industries there were hardly any—300 in mining and none in the garment trades. In the old unions, the bureaucracies had the workers more "harnessed" and "disciplined."

What most disturbed the CIO as well as the AFL leaders about the sit-downs was the revolutionary implication of the workers' seizure, even temporarily, of the means of production. The union officialdom, abject servants of the capitalist system of private profits, saw in the sit-downs a defiance of the dogma of the "sacredness" of private property and free enterprise. If workers could seize the plants to enforce their union economic demands, why could they not seize them as part of a more far-reaching social program? Why could they not eliminate the private owners altogether and organize production on the basis of social ownership?

Such revolutionary ideas are inherent in the very nature of the sit-down. The workers of America, by the enthusiasm they display in grasping this weapon, showed themselves far less inclined than their leaders to hold private property in the means of production as "sacred." They quickly understood where the heart of the owners' power lay, and they put their hand on that heart when they took over his property. It is a lesson they will recall in future struggles where the issues appear to them as great and the stakes as high as in 1937.

'Easy' Victory and Terrible Defeat

By the end of 1937 the list of industrial corporations which had bowed to the CIO and signed union contracts read like a substantial list of "Who's Who in Big Business." The downfall of GM had a decisive effect on the negotiations secretly under way with U.S. Steel, which controlled about 40% of the basic steel industry.

On March 2, 1937, Carnegie-Illinois, largest U.S. Steel subsidiary, received an SWOC delegation and signed a contract negotiated by Lewis. It granted recognition to the SWOC as the bargaining agency for its members, a 10% wage increase, the eight-hour day, 40-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime, vacations with pay and seniority rights.

Reporters and commentators at the time credited Lewis with a "single-handed" victory. Lewis did take full advantage of favorable circumstances and skillfully "wrapped up" the deal with a corporation which at its founding in 1901 had adopted a special resolution never to recognize a union. But Lewis did not do the job "single-handed."

He had had the able aid of a "negotiating committee" of 140,000 GM sit-downers, particularly the brave auto workers of Flint who held the GM plants for 44 days. The defeat of mighty GM is what gave pause to Thomas Lamont of the House of Morgan, which controlled U.S. Steel, and to Myron Taylor the steel company's head.

They were particularly anxious to avoid the GM experience because they had promise of a big pick-up in profits from what was becoming the fastest developing market—war orders. British armor plate contracts were in the offing, if U.S. Steel could assure prompt deliveries. The House of Morgan also had reason to believe that Roosevelt was preparing to swing the country more and more in the direction of war preparations. Why risk the loss of British orders and the chance to bid on U.S. contracts by forcing a strike that might well end with the workers squeezing out even bigger concessions than Lewis was willing to accept?

The U.S. Steel contract inspired a rush of new members into the SWOC. Within a week, some 20,000 more workers got their union cards and 30 steel companies agreed to collective bargaining conferences. Within three months, 140 companies, representing 75% of the industry, including 14 U.S. Steel subsidiaries, were under union contract.

There was a negative side to this development. The gains of the steel workers appeared to come from the top. The steel workers themselves did not have to go through a great struggle to get them and the CIO leadership, the hand-picked SWOC leaders in particular, never made any attempt to impress on the steel workers their immense debt to the GM sit-downers. **Although the SWOC had more than 400,000 members by July 1937, they had no say whatsoever. Only in 1942, when SWOC chairman Philip Murray felt he had all the union's machinery firmly in his own grip, was the United Steel Workers established with elected officers. This absolute control of the steel union from the top was to have repeated unfortunate consequences for the steel workers. The first example of this came swiftly in Little Steel.**

Five of U.S. Steel's leading competitors comprised the group known as Little Steel. They were Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel and Weirton Steel. This group determined to fight to the death against recognition of the SWOC. The union's appeals to the law — the Wagner Act—only brought sneers from the hard-bitten owners of these corporations. Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel, declared there was nothing in the law requiring an employer to sign a written contract. The companies, as was later revealed by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee headed by the younger Robert LaFollette, had stocked millions of dollars worth of arms and ammunition for a war on unionism.

Every effort of Philip Murray and his assistants to secure union recognition was brushed aside. It was either accept a total and humilitating defeat without a struggle or to strike. On May 26, 1937, a strike call was issued to 75,500 workers of Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Republic and Inland, with Weirton reserved for a later attempt.

The initial walkouts were virtually 100% effective. "Next day, the steel towns breathed clean air for the first time in years. The mills were as empty as a Monday-morning church," wrote Walsh in his CIO Industrial Unionism in Action.

The subsequent terrible defeat the CIO suffered in Little Steel can not in any wise be blamed on the workers. Their response to the strike call was magnificent. Their heroism and courage in the face of the murderous assaults of the company thugs, deputies, police and National Guards has never been surpassed in the annals of American labor. There were 18 strikers slaughtered, scores wounded, hundreds arrested — some 200 union members and local leaders were jailed in the Youngstown, O., area alone. Memorial Day, 1937, when 10 were massacred outside the Republic plant in South Chicago, stands as the darkest day the American workers have ever known.

The responsibility for the Little Steel defeat rests squarely on the top SWOC leaders. They did nothing to prepare the workers for effective defense against the strikebreaking forces of the local and state governments. These union leaders told the workers that all the "New Deal" public officials were "labor's friends" and that the strikers should "welcome" the National Guards, state troopers and police sent to keep "law and order" by Democratic governors and mayors who were among Roosevelt's key henchmen. Nothing proved more demoralizing and disorienting to the strikers than to be greeted with hot lead and cold steel by the armed strikebreaking forces who the union leaders said were being used to "protect" the strikers and "keep the mills closed."

In Pennsylvania, Governor Earle, who had been elected in 1934 as the first Democratic head of the state in 44 years, declared martial law at Johnstown when local police and vigilante terror failed to break the strike at Bethlehem's Cambria plant. The plant, which had been closed for a week, was reopened by the state troopers. The head of the troopers issued his own "injunction," limiting the number of pickets to six at the main entrance for the scabs, the lower Franklin gate. The commander of the troopers claimed that the road running directly past this gate must be kept open as a highway. The angry and frustrated strikers could only watch from a distance as Earle's troopers herded an ever greater number of scabs into the plant. Eventually, the strike was broken and the union crushed.

In Ohio, Roosevelt's political colleague, Democratic Governor Davey, sent the National Guard—the same Guard that had been fought to a standstill in the 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite Strike—into the steel areas. The National Guard officers held a secret conference with the Republic Steel executives and then moved systematically from Youngstown to Warren, Niles, Canton, Massillon and Cleveland, smashing picket lines, arresting strikers, escorting scabs into struck mills.

In Youngstown, two strikers were killed by deputies who claimed that strikers' wives had called them names. The National Guard finished the job. Every organizer was arrested. Hundreds of union men were held in "technical custody," jailed without charges or bail. Union headquarters were raided repeatedly. After the strikers—at the behest of the pro-Roosevelt Stalinists, in this instance — had welcomed the Guardsmen as heroes, Davey had announced that the "right to work is no less sacred than the right to strike." This meant keeping the plants open and protecting the scabs. Morale was gradually broken and the strike caved in.

A similar process took place in Canton. Governor Davey's Guardsmen occupied an area several miles square around the plants and permitted no one to enter or leave without a military pass. All highways to the city were blocked off to prevent sympathizers from other towns coming to the aid of the Canton strikers. Hundreds of workers were arrested and held incommunicado. One worker was beaten to death — but two doctors were procured to testify that death was due to "heart-failure." Troopers driving children from a Canton playground nervously jabbed with bayonets three youngsters who jeered them. The cut children had to be treated at the medical corps room of the Canton armory.

At Massillon, O., a group of "special" deputies, armed with tear gas and shot guns supplied by Republic steel, opened fire at night into pickets changing details at SWOC headquarters. Two strikers fell fatally wounded, 13 were treated for wounds at the hospital. The troops invaded the union hall, confiscated the records and broke up the furniture. A midnight man-hunt began, with 150 dragged from their homes to jail. All picketing and meetings were then banned. The strike was broken.

Bloody Orgy on May 30, 1937

The most evil day of the strike was May 30. A Memorial Day meeting had been called by the union in South Chicago. The meeting decided to hold a protest parade past the struck Republic Steel plant. About 1,500, including women and children, were in the line of march. Union leaders, including Stalinists, told them that Roosevelt, the Wagner Act and Chicago's own "New Deal" Democratic Mayor Kelly had "guaranteed" the rights to peaceful picketing.

As the marchers, in a holiday mood, crossed a large trash-strewn field in the direction of the Republic plant, they saw a solid line of 200 police drawn across their path. A group of about 300 advanced to the police line and a leader began to talk to the police. **Suddenly, the police opened fire with tear gas shells. Then, as the marchers broke and began to run in retreat, the police opened fire with their revolvers, sending hundreds of bullets into the panic-stricken crowd. The police then charged with swinging clubs and blazing guns, beating down or shooting every laggard. In a couple of minutes, 10 lay dead or fatally wounded—every one shot in the back. Another forty bore gunshot wounds—in the back. One hundred and one others were injured by clubs — including an eight-year-old child.**

A Paramount News cameraman recorded the event. It was such a ghastly sight that the film company refused to exhibit the newsreel for fear of "inciting riots." It was subsequently shown in secret to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee in the Senate and this showing was described in a contemporary press account. After telling how dazed individuals were shown caught in the midst of the charging police, the report said:

"In a manner which is appallingly businesslike, groups of policemen closed in on these isolated individuals, and go to work on them with their clubs. In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head and still another is whipping him across the back . . .

"A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. Two policemen try to make him stand up, to get him into a patrol wagon, but when they let go of him his legs crumple, and he falls with his face in the dirt, almost under the rear step of the wagon. He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle, and claws the ground . . .

"There is continuous talking, but it is difficult to distinguish anything, with one exception—out of the babble there rises this clear and distinct ejaculation:

"God Almighty!"

"A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat wide open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. **Then his face breaks into a sudden grin, he makes a motion of dusting off his hands, and strides away. The film ends."**

Lewis and Murray looked to Roosevelt to save the Little Steel strike. On June 30, with the blood of many scores of steel strikers still fresh on the streets of a half dozen towns and cities, Roosevelt spurned the plea of the union leaders, grandiloquently quoting Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet: "A plague on both your houses!"

Lewis, who had remained silent at the President's treacherous actions during the GM strike, could no longer contain himself. In a Sept. 3 Labor Day coast-to-coast broadcast, Lewis scored the Roosevelt administration:

"Shortly after Kelly's police force in Chicago had indulged their bloody orgy, Kelly came to Washington looking for political patronage. That patronage was forthcoming, and Kelly must believe that the killing of the strikers is no liability in partisan politics . . . Labor next year cannot avoid the necessity of a political assay of the work and deeds of its so-called beneficiaries. It must determine who are its friends in the arena of politics and elsewhere . . .

"Those who chant their praises of democracy but who lost no chance to drive their knives into labor's defenseless back must feel the weight of labor's woes even as its open adversaries must ever feel the thrust of labor's power.

"Labor like Israel, has many sorrows. Its women weep for their fallen and they lament for the future of the children of the race. It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace."

This scathing indictment of Roosevelt was not followed by a political break. Lewis was still to continue, for a time, his support of the Democratic machine and the "New Deal" administration. The other CIO leaders — Murray, Dubinsky, Hillman, etc. —did not even give support to Lewis' verbal attack on Roosevelt. Murray, whose strike "strategy" had been merely dependence on Roosevelt and "New Dealers" like Davey, Earle and Kelly, said not a mumbling word.

Later, the story was to be circulated that the Little Steel strike had been a "mistake," that Murray had been induced to call the strike because of "misleading" and "over-enthusiastic" reports from local organizers and leaders in the Little Steel areas. **The strike was lost only because of "misleading" and "over-enthusiastic" belief in Roosevelt and the other Democratic capitalist "friends of labor." Had the SWOC leaders prepared the workers for a real battle, with dependence only on their own organized strength, there would have been a different story to tell, as the Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Flint strikes had already proved.**

The Little Steel defeat was the first serious setback for the CIO. It slowed up but did not halt the CIO's drive. The eight unions with 900,000 members that had formed the CIO in November 1936 grew to 32 international unions with a membership of 3,718,000 in September 1937. The AFL Executive Council in September announced a total AFL membership of 3,600,000—less than the CIO. The AFL leaders claimed 1,000,000 new members, however, demonstrating that the impetus given to organized labor by the CIO's campaign had benefitted the AFL as well.

(Next Week: First Retreat of the CIO and the Start of the War Program.)

Previous installments of "20 Years of the CIO" may be obtained by writing to the Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. The cost is 10c. per issue. All new subscribers to the Militant, for the duration of the series, will receive free copies of previous installments on request.

On Memorial Day, 1937

On Memorial Day, 1937, ten workers were murdered by Chicago police during a holiday strike parade. This photograph was taken from a suppressed newsreel of the brutal assault upon unarmed men, women and children. The pictures were hastily withdrawn from circulation because authorities feared their showing might "incite riots" among horrified American workers.

...Auto Strike Wave

(Continued from page 1)

where 55% of the workers are women, a special demand was raised. The local union demanded 15 cents an hour extra for underpaid women workers. William Duff, president of the AC local said: "I don't care what Reuther or anyone else says. This plant goes down if we don't get the raise for women."

Strikers from one end of the country to the other complained of "terrible working conditions" and "speed-up." One picket at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit said: "We don't have enough relief periods and they aren't long enough. We aren't allowed enough time to change our tools between jobs."

A picket at Chevrolet Detroit Forge complained about pay: "I'm underpaid. We're all underpaid. I only make $1.96 an hour, whereas in other auto plants — not GM plants — truck drivers get $2.35 an hour."

On June 14, it was reported in the Detroit press, that while some plants had managed to get back into production, the following strikes were still on: Four GM plants in Detroit; 23,000 workers were out in Flint; two GM plants in North Tarrytown, N. Y.; two GM plants in Baltimore; the Fisher Body plant near Pittsburgh; GM's Delco Remy plants in Indiana and the Guide Lamp Division at Anderson, Indiana; 10,000 were out in the Chicago area; the Pontiac Motor Division one of three GM plants in Pontiac was still out; one of the two Fisher Body plants in Grand Rapids remained out.

Over 50,000 GM workers in 17 plants throughout the country continued to press their local demands with strike action.

WORKERS' DEMANDS

The striking workers at the Fleetwood Body plant in Detroit complained of speed-up. Among other things they demanded wash-up time, relief periods and gloves. At a local strike meeting, the Fleetwood workers cheered loudly when they heard a message of solidarity from the striking Cadillac workers in Local 22: "They're trying to tell us our strike is unauthorized, but we're staying out whether it is or isn't. We'll stay out until we get what we want."

Five thousand strikers in Trenton New Jersey, returned to their jobs after two days when company officials acceded to their demand for the same wage scale as Detroit. This meant an additional eleven-cent raise.

On June 16, after three days had passed since the announcement of the GM-UAW agreement, a company spokesman said that in addition to Detroit's Fisher Body Fleetwood plant and Fisher Body Plant No. 2 at Grand Rapids, strikes continued at Danville, La Grange and Chicago, Ill., Norwood and Hamilton, Ohio, Pittsburgh, and Tarrytown, N. Y.

On June 21 the last unauthorized strike was settled at the Livonia Fisher Body plant. For nine days the strikers fought for changes in job classifications and adequate rest periods for women workers. The settlement was approved unanimously according to Harry Southwell, the local's president.

THE MILITANT ARMY

[This week we are turning over the entire column to a letter from the Militant editorial staff commenting on the results of the six-week subscription campaign.]

To the Militant Army Builders: In the course of the subscription campaign which has just ended, the Business Manager often took time out of her busy schedule to tell us of subscribers' response to the content of our paper, helpful suggestions sent in, and encouragement in our efforts.

We thank all our friends for their help and support. And in turn, we want to congratulate the hard workers who made the success of the subscription campaign possible.

This is not because we want to exchange compliments. The work in the editorial office, the business office and the local Militant activities are different parts of one cooperative effort to build a great socialist workers newspaper.

What we all tried to do in the six weeks sub drive, was to find the methods of building circulation that are best suited to the difficulties and opportunities of this period.

One striking feature of the campaign was the variety of methods used to expand circulation. The Twin Cities, for example, which topped all other localities in number of subs, stuck closely to the policy of getting one new sub for every renewal.

Although some subs were sold in house-to-house work, the primary method was direct contact with friends, shopmates and neighbors.

An expanded sales campaign took place in a number of localities. In New York mass distributions at a factory were followed by sales at the local union meeting. It was heartening to hear that after distributing the paper free at the plant gate, one hundred workers bought a copy of the next issue at their union meeting.

It was even more encouraging to hear of the great interest with which the workers read our paper. Discussions developed around some of the articles. Arguments found in the Militant were voiced in their meetings.

All the wider forms of circulation activities proved that despite the witch hunt, the war prosperity, the domination of the reformist officials over the unions, and the reformist illusions of the workers themselves, there is a receptive audience for the Militant. This audience is to be found particularly among the young workers, the minorities and to a certain extent among students.

These wider methods are useful for sowing seeds for the future. New and valuable contacts are introduced to the paper and will develop greater class consciousness over a period of time.

The most important results in sub work, however, come from sustained efforts on individuals who had already some socialist understanding or experience in the workers' struggle. A persistent and persuasive appeal was all that was needed to recruit them as Militant subscribers.

If the pattern laid down by the campaign inspires a regular year-round effort along the same lines, we shall be able to say that the 1955 subscription campaign was equal to any of our past successes.

We have shown that by an organized effort new subscribers can be recruited; that renewals can be obtained on a regular basis; that broader sections of the workers can be introduced to a fighting class struggle policy with good response. Let's use these lessons. Let this sub campaign be the jumping off point for sustained work in organized Militant circulation. Let's keep the number of regular Militant readers growing.

Subscription $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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Why "Operation Alert"?

All the commotion and ballyhoo around Operation Alert had nothing really to do with "civil defense" against a thermonuclear attack. (See article, Page 1) The H-bomb presumed to have been dropped on New York City, "killing" 2,991,258, was only one-third as big as the one the U.S. dropped on Bikini. And a lot of "progress" has been made since then.

Greater realism, however, would have made unnecessary any drill at all. Then why was Operation Alert organized?

Keep in mind the following facts: Wall Street's government in Washington is the only government that has ever dropped atomic bombs on human beings. High functionairies in the government have shocked the world by talking seriously of dropping A-bombs in the cold war. Eisenhower's administration has insisted on the decision to equip the armed forces of NATO with atomic weapons — despite opposition of some of its allies.

According to American sources in Moscow, the Soviet Union has no civil defense set-up, no demarcated shelters, and hasn't had an air-raid drill since World War II.

Operation Alert was not a serious preparation for civil defense also because the Big Business government in Washington doesn't seriously expect an unprovoked atomic attack from the Soviet Union.

However, Big Business did want the Soviet Union and China to know that the American billionaire's Government will not hesitate to risk a nuclear war. Operation Alert was a threat. The USSR and China understood its purpose and protested.

The liberal New York Post, June 16, complained that "there could hardly have been a less propitious moment for yesterday's national production. It came on the eve of international talks that have stirred a flicker of hope throughout this war-weary universe. . . To seem to be advertising the certitude of doomsday can only feed the accusation that we are just going through the motions of diplomacy."

The liberals try to cover up the naked guilt of the Wall Street government. They complain bitterly of bungling, ineptness, lack of tact. They wish at least the appearance of peaceful intentions and lofty motives would be maintained.

But the ruling parties, both Republican and Democrat, know what they are doing. For them the moment couldn't be more propitious. They meant Operation Alert to be a threat. They intend to keep the war program and the war perspective alive until all opposition to Wall Street is subdued.

There was also a domestic motivation for Operation Alert. Eisenhower's proposals for nearly $32 billion for the Defense Department was coming up for debate. On June 20 it was passed in the Senate.

While there was little doubt that the appropriations would be passed, Eisenhower's proposal for Universal Military Training, euphemistically called the "reserve plan," has met with considerable opposition.

Two days after the mock atomic raid, Eisenhower, over the head of Congress, appealed to the public for support of his "reserve plan." He declared that the program "must" be enacted "for the security and safety of the . . . people." Operation Alert was supposed to frighten people into accepting Universal Military Training.

Eisenhower's H-bomb attack was simulated but the military reserve program is quite real. In its original form or as presently modified by the Senate, it will put the youth of America in a capitalist military straightjacket for years to come.

McCarthy Makes the Record

McCarthy, whose sinister figure loomed so large on the American political scene only a year ago, emerged from his present relative obscurity to make a significant speech in the Senate.

The subject under discussion was ratification of the Austrian treaty and the forthcoming Big Four "summit" talks. McCarthy's was the only voice to make a fulldress attack on the treaty, the talks and Eisenhower's foreign policy in general.

"The administration's present foreign policy is to cooperate in the current Communist peace offensive by having this country play the role of straight man for the Soviet Union," said the Wisconsin Senator. This "creeping madness" he warned is leading to "an impending diplomatic disaster," which will be "the free world's worst defeat since the end of the Second World War."

Of course it is no news that McCarthy is opposed to any sort of diplomatic deal, no matter how advantageous or temporary, with the Soviet bloc. He favors a quick atom-bomb showdown. What is news, is that McCarthy split with Knowland and the Republican right wing, who reluctantly went along with Eisenhower on the issue.

McCarthy did not expect to swing votes. The next day (June 17) the Senate overwhelmingly ratified the treaty, 63 to 3. McCarthy wanted to make his definitive break with Republican foreign policy public, to put it on the record for future use. He has done so.

The neo-fascist Senator from Wisconsin is well aware of the role that the Big Business masters of this country have assigned to him. He doesn't like it, but has had to accept it. Now he is making the most of it and preparing his arsenal for the future.

U.S. capitalism is rolling along in a period of economic prosperity. The four wheels of its political limousine are the Democratic-labor alliance and the Eisenhower and right-wing Republicans. With adjustment and realignment every so often they seem to be working satisfactorily.

The ruling class has put McCarthy on the spare tire rack. A spare tire doesn't get much action or attention. That is as long as everything goes well. But when U.S. capitalism runs into rough times or rough roads the spare tire can be the saviour. This is what McCarthy is banking on. He is preparing the record of his opposition to the present policy of easing the cold war. Discreditment of Eisenhower's diplomatic policy (and all imperialist diplomacy is discredited in time) will enable McCarthy to crow his record of having stood alone in "patriotic" opposition to "treasonable sell outs to Communism."

But the best laid plans can go amiss. If labor comes onto the political scene in its true colors — that is as a Labor Party — instead of me-tooing the Democrats, McCarthy may never be able to build up the menace of an American fascism that was so formidable a short time ago.

A Future for Our Children

The average person who works for a living, whether he lives in Chicago or Rome, has a tough time getting enough to eat, a place to sleep, some clothes to wear, and perhaps a few simple enjoyments. Beyond that people live for the future. This is expressed in their hopes for the children. There is, or rather there was, always the hope that tomorrow will be better. Today life may be hard and disappointing, but tomorrow it will be easier, and more like real living should be for the next generation and those to follow.

There is a terrible, gnawing fear today that there will be no tomorrow for our children. Great scientists, quoted by prominent government leaders, all say that another war means total annihilation or close to it. And while everybody talks peace, there doesn't seem to be a practical plan around to achieve it.

These days we are hearing a lot about the United Nations. The tenth anniversary of the U.N. is being celebrated in San Francisco and there is much oratory about all our hopes for peace being realized through the U.N. But this is at best a very bad joke.

The U.N. showed what it was during the Korean war when it lined up behind Truman against the Asian workers and peasants who wanted to get the landlord, the moneylender, the capitalist and the other parasites off their back. The U.N. became the recruiting sergeant for the American billionaires who have a big stake in keeping the Asian people in servitude.

That experience hardly recommends the U.N. as the hope for world peace.

The people who are really preparing to plunge the world into an unbelievably devastating war are right out in front, extolling the virtues of the U.N. as the "world organization for peace." These are the same people who became multi-millionaires in World War I and billionaires in World War II. They are well aware of the yearning for peace in the world today. That's why they prepare for war in the name of peace.

They spend two thirds of the federal budget for war preparations; they ram a universal military training program down our throats; they stock-pile H-bombs higher and higher — for war? No! For Peace!

The terrible sham of "peace"-preparations for imperialist war can be stopped. All that is needed is that the people of this country should take the billionaires and their political mouthpieces and hurl them out of power. They are irresponsible madmen. For love of profits they would blow up the whole world if we give them the chance. Heave them out of power; put representatives of the working people in power — and then we will see some real deals for peace between the working people of this country and the world.

...Wall Street's Design in Argentina

(Continued from page 1)

gantic sum of $7 billion. From the point of view of U. S. imperialist diplomacy, this is a weapon against Argentina as lethal as any bomb. **For should U. S. imperialism dispose of this surplus in a manner calculated to deprive Argentina of the limited free market allotted to it, it would spell a disaster for Argentina.**

With this change in the international economic position of Argentina to the advantage of Anglo-American imperialism, the State Department could well afford to modify its openly aggressive attitude towards Argentina. But it continued to pursue the same objective of strangling Argentina economically and politically by promoting internal subversion.

Former U. S. Ambassador to Argentina, Spruille Braden, and his underling John F. Griffith (the latter was charged by the Argentine government with complicity in the abortive plot against Peron in 1948), were both replaced by defter hands. The subsequent visit of Milton Eisenhower, the brother of Pres. Eisenhower, to Argentina, and Navy Secretary Thomas, were calculated to force a reorientation on Peron with regard to the imperialist monopolies, particularly oil. It was still the same mailed fist, but in a silken glove.

PERON OPENS DOOR

For a time Peron vacillated, then abjectly capitulated with a far-reaching agreement to reopen Argentina to exploitation by the strongest, most powerful; and most predatory monopolies in the world (Standard Oil of N. J., Standard of California, and Royal Dutch Shell).

On October 11, 1951, Peron, in an article obviously directed against Anglo-American monopolies, said, "International supercapitalism deprives other countries of the necessary resources, does not live up to its word, systematically does not fulfill its solemn promises and obligations, organizes blockades, sabotage and slander."

Peron now opened the door to these same organizers of blockades, sabotage and slander. For the agreement that he signed with the international oil octopus brings the economic penetration of foreign monopoly capital in Argentina back to where it was in 1935, with the minor difference that British imperialism is now reduced to a very junior partner.

The contract Peron agreed to is for 48 years. While the oil companies are obligated not to invest more than $200 to $300 million, the exploring and drilling rights which these companies got extend over such vast areas as the Gran Chaco at the Bolivian border in the north, along the entire front of the Andes to the southern tip of the country.

Undoubtedly Peron hoped that this major concession to Anglo-American imperialism would mean (1) an end to U.S. efforts to overthrow his regime; (2) an easing of the economic strangulation of Argentina by permitting more liberal imports into Argentina of such vital, necessary items as fuel, machineny and spare parts; (3) a relaxation in currency exchange so that Argentina would have a dollar balance to buy finished products at prices other than the extortionate ones charged by the Wall Street monopolies.

DOLLAR SQUEEZE

But as Peron aptly said in 1951, "international super-capitalism deprives other countries of the necessary resources, does not live up to its word . . ." Economically, there was no easing for import to Argentina of vital finished products. The slightest move in the direction of broadening trade with the Soviet bloc was branded as a move to join the Kremlin, and efforts by Argentina to obtain dollars in order to trade with other countries (because the dollar and the pound are the only internationally recognized currency) did not improve the situation, which became more restricted.

Rich American tourists, traveling in Argentina, express horror upon learning that a 1955 Chevrolet sells for $12,000 on the black market, and a 1955 Cadillac for $30,000. Nobody seems to bother to add that the U. S. will only sell its products for dollars which are extremely scarce in Argentina, and refuses to recognize other currencies.

Argentina, like other Latin American countries dependent on the dollar as the only medium of international exchange, tries to restrict somewhat the import of such articles in order to conserve dollars, since even medicines and insecticides can be obtained by Argentina and other countries in Latin America only with American dollars.

Of course, part of the informal understanding reached between Peron and American imperialism as a result of the Milton Eisenhower visit, was, if not the promise, at least the hope, that American imperialism would call off its dogs in Argentina, and cease promoting subversion against the Argentine government.

A CATHOLIC PARTY

But the end of Bradenism (the policy of more or less open intervention in the internal affairs of Argentina) merely meant the substitution of a more subtle, but no less pernicious form of subversion. For hardly had Braden's feet left Argentine ground, when articles in the U. S. Big Business press appeared, intimating the good prospects for formation of a Catholic Christian Democratic Party in Argentina on the style of Italy's Christian Democrats, and how such a party would mean "Western democracy" instead of the Peronist dictatorship.

Juan D. Peron

Now, a Christian Democratic Party that would give away the vast natural wealth and resources of Argentina with the same readiness that the Italian Christian Democratic Party beats down the heads of Italian workers and peasants would be ideal for Yankee imperialism.

But to ask weak native Argentine capital with its extremely narrow social base to begin building a broad parliamentary party, particularly at a time of acute class antagonisms, is like demanding milk from a he-goat.

THE CORDOBA PLOT

The center for hatching this party was Cordoba, a reactionary, ecclesiastical city. It is said to have received its intellectual inspiration from Professor Jacques Martines, who teaches at Princeton University. This little conspiracy of the Cordoban priests found no response among the masses, but did get a response from the higher echelons of the clergy, and among the naval officers. Both of these are tied to the "oligarchy," composed of the landed aristocracy and the millionaire cattle ranchers. **The primary plank in the program of the projected Catholic Party, is the condemnation, not only of the class struggle (of the workers, of course!), but even of liberalism, which is characterized as anarchistic.**

Thus efforts to build a broad Catholic Party, turned into a broad conspiracy, with the hierarchy of the Church and Navy conspiring with U. S. imperialism against the Argentine government.

Peron naturally knew about this, and struck back with the best weapon available to him. He began to cut the clergy off the government payroll, wiping out salaries to nuns and priests in the schools. It was this measure, and not the legalization of divorce that brought the crisis to a head. **As Marx said of the English Established Church, it would "more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles (of faith) than on 1/39 of its income."**

CHURCH AND STATE

In political language, cutting the clergy off the payroll, meant separation of church and state — an elementary democratic measure! The imperialist press, however, characterized this measure as religious persecution of Catholics. The imperialist press forgets to point out that none other than the Pope himself awarded Peron, just a couple of years ago, the Grand Cross of Pope Pius IX, one of the Church's highest honors.

Nor did the kept U. S. Press bother to point out that it was Peron who put into the 1949 Constitution the specific provision for state support of the Roman Catholic religion. As a matter of fact, until around the time that Braden left Argentina, the Catholic clergy had received more privileges from Peron than from any of his predecessors.

Why should he quarrel with them now, except for the fact that they had become the spearhead of a reactionary conspiracy, supported by the hated estancieros (landed aristocracy and cattle ranchers).

PERON'S ROLE

The role of Peron in Argentine politics has puzzled those who do not understand the class antagonisms in a semi-colonial country, and its relation to imperialism. "In industrially backward countries," Trotsky said, "foreign capital plays a decisive role." Nobody knows this better than Juan Domingo Peron.

He came to power at a time of tremendous anti-imperialist feeling all over Latin America, and particularly in Argentina, which has the largest, youngest, and to some extent the most dynamic working class. He raised the anti-Yankee banner higher than any other bourgeois nationalist had ever done in Argentina. That period roughly coincided with the ending of World War II and the period of the Korean War, when the highest world price of agricultural products prevailed and permitted increased elbow room for semi-colonial, raw-material countries like Argentina.

When this situation began to change, Peron slowly began to lower the anti-Yankee banner, and crowned these actions with the ignominious Standard Oil-Royal Dutch Shell sell-out.

But in a country where foreign capital plays a decisive role, as Trotsky pointed out, this means "a relative weakness of the **national** bourgeoisie in relation to the **national** proletariat." Peron has least of all been blind to this vital aspect of the Argentine social landscape. He has, from the very beginning, leaned heavily on the numerically strong and youthful proletariat in Argentina, particularly in the strategic Buenos Aires Federal District, where a sizeable proportion of the whole working class is located.

PERONISM IN UNIONS

It is true that he has systematically perverted the Argentine labor movement and manipulated the controlled CGTU bureaucracy which dominates the labor movement. But this fact alone doesn't explain the allegiance of the workers to the Peron Regime. This allegiance is explained, at least in part, by the concessions which Peron has granted them in social benefits like social security, minimum wages, limited medical care, etc. To this must be added the limited nationalizations of industry, mostly in transport; and the nationalization of the Bank of Argentina, but not the private banks.

These concessions to the workers and nationalizations have greatly added to the Bonapartist character of the regime. It would seem that the Peron regime has raised itself above the classes. **Actually he has only veered between the classes in order to insure the continued existence of the possessing classes. In the heyday of Peronista radicalism, Peron could refer to native capital as "those 500 bums in the stock exchange." But that didn't stop the enormous war-time profits of those "bums," nor did his slogan of "land to the tillers" mean the breakup of the enormous landed estates or diminish the profits of the cattle-raising plutocracy.**

The land seizures effected by Peron were few in number and meager in character, considering that about 68% of the Argentine population is not only landless, but largely of an almost nomad character.

Hence such a government as Peron's can, in the words of Trotsky, "govern only by making itself the instrument of foreign capital, or by maneuvering with the proletariat, and even going so far as to make concessions to it and thus gaining the possibility of a certain freedom towards the foreign capitalists."

APPEASEMENT FAILED

Peron's development has been in the reverse order. The relative freedom which Peron had from the foreign capitalists as a result of the wars, he has practically thrown away with his major concession bringing back the oil cartel. This appeasement of foreign monopoly capital hasn't worked, as it never does.

The abortive right-wing naval and air force coup proved this. This coup has frightened Peron and his army supporters into condemning the workers who saved his regime, attacking them for alleged excesses committed. **Now after fending off the attack from the navy, Peron finds himself in the tight embrace of the army — and more isolated than ever from any mass base of support.**

The young and dynamic Argentine working class cannot long remain dominated by Peronism. Its revolutionary interests demand a complete removal of imperialist power over Argentina.

The current crisis can serve to speed up the revolutionary education of the Argentine workers and facilitate their mobilization not only against foreign and native capital, but against the racketeering government bureaucracy and army caste — the main instruments of the Peron police dictatorship. The Argentine working class needs the overthrow of Peron — but not by the army and the Church who will tighten the bonds of exploitation. Peron's removal is the task of the Argentine workers in alliance with the toilers on the land.

...The Lessons of Right-Wing Strikebreaking

(Continued from page 1)

put through Catholic labor schools. Under the direction of labor priests a drive began to win control over the labor movement.

Operating through agents in the steel union officialdom, the ACTU gained a dominant position in the local CIO council and maneuvered CIO endorsement of a priest-ridden paper, **The Cleveland Union Leader.**

When Truman published his "subversive" list eight years ago the ACTU came fully into the open to start its own witch hunt in the unions. At the same time Reuther began a red-baiting drive for control over the UAW. These elements soon made a coalition to attack the Stalinists who were well rooted in the local labor movement, particularly in the United Electrical Workers Union, a CIO affiliate.

At the 1949 national convention of the CIO, held in this city, the UE and several other Stalinist-dominated unions were expelled. In defense of this anti-democratic action the CIO bureaucrats recited the catalog of Stalinist crimes against labor, ranging from ruthless suppression of democracy in unions under their control to rotten sell-outs of the workers' interest.

Many workers knew from experience that the Stalinists were guilty as charged. What remained obscure was the hypocrisy of the CIO top brass in thus accusing the Stalinists. They had long been committing the same crimes themselves in collaboration with the CP hacks.

The split they carried through had nothing whatever to do with class-struggle principles. Acting as obedient agents of the State Department, the CIO bureaucrats expelled whole unions for the sole purpose of getting at the Stalinists because they no longer supported the capitalist war policy as they once had. Discredited as they were, the Stalinists proved incapable of inspiring a principled defense against the expulsions.

The stage was now set for a campaign to destroy the Stalinist-dominated unions. Spearheaded by the Reutherite-ACTU coalition, the CIO and AFL tops united in the attack. They got full backing from the capitalist newspapers.

STRIKEBREAKING

The Catholic Holy Name Society held public meetings to condemn strikes conducted by the expelled unions. Labor officials made public statements inciting violence against the UE. One of its business agents was beaten up by unknown assailants. Open strikebreaking followed when the UE contract expired at the Fawick-Airflex plant.

Management forced the union out on strike by refusing to bargain. The CIO and AFL provided a union cover for strikebreaking through jurisdictional raids on the UE. Taft-Hartley injunctions were issued against picketing. Strikers were arrested, held in high bail and assessed heavy fines. The strike was broken.

A custom-made pattern for assaults on other picket lines was now ready, except for one little change the employers had in mind. That switch was revealed in a UE strike at the Air Maize plant. Management put a company union forward to challenge the UE's jurisdiction, freezing out the AFL and CIO along with the UE.

At the same time the union-busting assault was being turned against the AFL and CIO in their own fields. In a strike at the Warner-Swasey plant the AFL Machinists got the full UE treatment. The strikers were starved out and the union defeated. A repeat performance hit the same union with the same results in the pipe machinery industry.

Later the CIO Auto Workers went on strike at Park Drop Forge. Having learned nothing from past events, the AFL Blacksmiths claimed jurisdiction and scab-herded for the company. With scabs in the plant, over 3,000 unionists took off from work to support the UAW pickets with the biggest strike demonstration the city had seen since 1938. Despite brutal police attacks the demonstration went on three days, only to fail of its purpose from lack of leadership.

The strike wound up with a Taft-Hartley representation election in which the scabs alone were allowed to vote. The vote went "No union," except that the AFL Blacksmiths got the skilled minority. The UAW local was smashed.

Next the CIO chemical union got the works, including employer ads in the papers appealing for scabs, in a strike at Patterson-Sargent. The strike was defeated and the union went back minus the negotiating committee members who lost their jobs.

BOSSES EXPLOIT FEAR

The mounting list of union defeats caused the workers to fear the consequences of a walk-out. Aware of that fear the employers grew bolder in attacking hard-won union conditions on the job. A new will to fight in self defense was thereby generated in the union ranks.

A demonstration of that fighting spirit was given last February when AFL officials called a public protest meeting against Taft-Hartley injunctions. Over 1,000 workers turned out to the meeting, surprising the union officials and scaring some. Timid bureaucrats proceeded to make a mockery of the protest with speeches to the effect that "we are not here to fight with anybody."

A most meaningful example of pressures that are goading the workers toward struggle appears at the General Motors Chevrolet plant. Back in 1950 the UAW local there went on strike against the speedup. Reuther promised to look into the union's grievances but he forced the membership back to work with the local president fired. Later a time study by the International Union brought a hike in some production quotas, actually stiffening the speedup.

Matters grew steadily worse until one day a worker, goaded to desperation, beat up a foreman who was riding him to work faster. The man was fired and the union heads put out a leaflet advising the workers, "Don't lose your temper." In this manner the Reutherite officialdom has come to function more and more as a speedup police for the company.

Meanwhile anger appears to be mounting in the UAW ranks. Anger over the speedup, the mousetrapping grievance procedures, the Reutherite suppressions of union democracy and violations of local autonomy.

Last March 8,000 Ford workers struck here in protest against the speedup. More recently auto workers at five local GM plants have contributed to the epidemic of flash strikes that have accompanied the negotiations of UAW contract renewals. When the unions involved in these strikes speak about "local conditions" they no doubt tend to sum up in one expression everything that has aroused the workers' anger.

In time their anger will lead to a realization that they have been misled; that bureaucratic witch hunting and strikebreaking opened the way for employer attacks on the unions and union conditions. New possibilities will then arise for the growth of a class-struggle left wing in the unions capable of leading the workers toward a showdown with the capitalists.

Book - A - Month Plan

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1955 — NUMBER 26

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Something of Value?

Last week this column discussed the unbelievable brutality of Robert Ruark's best-selling novel about Kenya, "Something of Value." While some critics condemned the book for its gloating, minutely-detailed sadism, they were in a minority. This is a good measure of the degeneration of the official guardians of capitalist culture.

Equally significant was the fact that most of those who condemned the book did so because of its brutality alone and were silent about its racial theories.

Both pro and con critics displayed an enormous ignorance of the situation in Africa by accepting at face value Ruark's title thesis — namely, that the white man in Africa destroyed native customs and forced on the Africans too much spurious civilization instead of giving them "something of value," for their spiritual life.

Ruark probably believes that he is being extremely generous to the Africans with this bit of pseudo-philosophy. Nevertheless, this is not the central cause of the fighting in Kenya.

Land is the central question in Africa but Ruark shies away from this issue as much as he can. In dealing with it he tries to show that the land didn't belong to the Kikiyu so they have no right to claim it. But this ridiculous argument can't erase the fact that pre-emption of immense areas of the best land in Kenya — the "White Highlands" — is the cause of the fighting.

As in South Africa, the imperialist policy of seizing huge land areas was not only for their own use but also to deprive the Africans of it. Crowding the huge native population onto small reservations, usually on the least arable land, means that in order to exist and avoid imprisonment for non-payment of taxes millions of Africans must work as agricultural laborers or squatters for the white landowners.

The history of Kenya in the fifty years since the British arrived is a history of the struggles of the natives, led by their main segment, the Kikiyu, against this exploitation.

The whole educational structure for the Africans in Kenya was built by the Africans themselves against the opposition of British imperialism. One of the first acts of the government when it proclaimed the emergency was to shut down the native schools. The Africans built a large successful cooperative system in Kenya. In the cities they organized trade unions.

British divide-and-rule policy was to keep the Indians and Arabs in Africa concentrated in the field of trading and play them against the Africans who were to be kept as workers and peasants. The government tried its utmost to prevent an African commercial class from emerging but despite laws and regulations the Africans set up their own banks and stores.

What the imperialists felt was most dangerous of all was the emergence of Africans on the political scene. Each organization they built was eventually outlawed. Their last organization was the Kenya Africa Union. It carefully stayed within all the restrictive laws but spoke out on land, labor and political representation for all Africans, who number 5,300,000 to the British 30,000.

The Imperialist decision to smash the Kenya Africa Union and the native economic and educational organizations led to the present civil war. With the backing of the Tory government in England, a "crisis" was ballyhooed. The Mau Mau, which was either a British fabrication or a small unknown group was credited with plans for a general massacre. Martial law was declared and any African opposed to white supremacy or the land policy was labeled a Mau Mau.

The terror drove thousands to the forests and they began to fight back. Some seem to have adopted the name Mau Mau (meaningless in all African dialects) in the same fashion that the Society of Friends long ago adopted the name Quakers by which their enemies called them.

Those who study the facts and who have regard for justice and progress must give their support to the Negro people of Kenya in the civil war there.

Inherit the Wind

By Trent Hutter

One of the most exciting plays Broadway has to offer at this moment is based on the famous "monkey trial" that took place in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. "Inherit the Wind" was written by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, directed by Herman Shumlin, and features a top-rate cast headed by the magnificent Paul Muni and the extremely able Ed Begley. (It is impossible to say anything about the two actors without using superlatives).

The "monkey trial" was a struggle between those who wanted to prevent the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution, to make the words of the Bible's story of creation a binding scientific (or rather anti-scientific) law, and those who defended freedom of research, of teaching, of thought. The Darwinist theory states that man and ape have a common ancestor. This infuriated the Fundamentalist bigots. Bryan, the famous orator, thrice candidate for President and Secretary of State under Wilson, had offered $100 to any university professor who would sign an affidavit declaring he was personally descended from a monkey. . .

There existed an anti-evolution law in the State of Tennessee, and 15 other states were contemplating the passage of similar laws. Fundamentalist fanaticism was indeed a threat to America's intellectual freedom in the mid-Twenties. And when John T. Scopes, a biology teacher at the Dayton high school, went on trial for violating the Tennessee anti-evolution law in his classroom, everybody realized what was at stake in this test case.

The Scopes trial became a debate between the two most brilliant lawyers of their time: William Jennings Bryan ("Mathew Harrison Brady" in the play) and Clarence Darrow ("Henry Drummond" in the play). Darrow won, although the jury reached a Guilty verdict. Scopes never had to pay the fine; the anti-evolution law remained on the books but has never been applied any more — and there was no doubt about Fundamentalism having lost the fight. Bryan died in Dayton a few days after the trial, while in the play "Brady" dies after the verdict, breaking down in the middle of a last speech. . .

Paul Muni plays "Drummond"-Darrow, the defender of free teaching and thinking; Ed Begley his opponent "Brady"-Bryan, the Fundamentalist. The intellectual and legal duel between the two giants is superbly portrayed on the stage. So are the partiality of the judge, the smart-alec wit of a big-city reporter, the political cunning of the small-town mayor, the zealotism of the local preacher, and the schoolteacher's unpretentious courage overcoming fear and shyness.

"Inherit the Wind" is a moving plea for freedom of the spirit, a fine, realistic drama, a condemnation of any kind of witch-hunt and thought-control. Its message is intended for our time. And we are glad to have Paul Muni back on the stage, speaking up once again for truth and liberty — a great American actor.

Notes from the News

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE was given another shot in the arm by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. The Government Printing Office publication, "Care and Repair of the House," priced at sixty cents, became a best seller. Weeks had the book withdrawn as "competitive with privately published books." A private firm will now publish the book at a new price — $3.50.

"AUTO COMPANIES have started to cut output," reports the June 20 Wall Street Journal. The curtailment of production schedules has been concealed by local strikes against Ford and General Motors. Dealer stocks of new cars reached a new high of 705,000 by May 31.

* * *

"HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST," a pamphlet issued by the U.S. army, was finally withdrawn from circulation. According to the booklet people who used such terms as "McCarthyism," "violation of civil rights," "racial or religious discrimination," "military budget," and "peace" were supposed to be suspect. The American Civil Liberties Union protested that the pamphlet constituted a "threat to free thought and expression."

* * *

SOAP BOX DERBY races in Augusta, Georgia, were called off when two Negro youth signed up for them. The States Rights Council of Georgia Inc. demanded that the races be cancelled. Sponsors of the event, local businessmen, stated they cancelled arrangements when "a large percentage" of contestants withdrew.

* * *

SENATE RULES COMMITTEE in closed meeting, June 15, approved a bill revising election laws to raise the amount of money the Democratic and Republican parties can spend in an election campaign from $3,000,000 to $12,300,000.

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From Chicago

Fight Flares Up At Trumbull Park

A committee of Trumbull Park tenants and their supporters last week called on newly elected Democratic Mayor Daley, asking that he live up to campaign promises "to see that the laws of Illinois and the United States" are enforced at the housing project, scene of racist violence during the last year and a half.

The action of the tenants followed a new flare-up of violence. Automobiles parked near the housing project had been wrecked and visitors stoned by racists. Although scores of police are still assigned to patrol the area, they say nothing and make no arrests.

The tenants' committee presented Daley with an eight-point program including a demand that he immediately issue a public statement condemning the violence and that he conduct an investigation of the South Deering Improvement Association, the outfit generally known to be instigating organized terrorist activities.

Daley's answer to every specific request was "No." Then he questioned the committee spokesman's respect for the high office of the mayor. He then announced that he was setting up a top strategy committee of a few people closest to him including Police Commissioner O'Conner "to investigate the entire situation at Trumbull Park."

O'Conner is a carryover from the discredited Kennelly regime. He thus shares the former administration's guilt for failing to stop the violence at Trumbull Park. But he continues to hold his post today thanks to Daley's support and that of the Democratic city machine.

* * *

On June 15 the Industrial Affairs Committee of the Illinois Senate voted 8 to 5 to defeat an Equal Job Opportunities bill supported by labor and minority organizations. This will probably end chances for its passage this term.

Although supporters of the bill traveled 192 miles from Chicago to Springfield in packed busses and passenger cars and rallied from other cities as well, the committee granted witnesses a total of only 30 minutes to state their case. A spokesman for the NAACP, who stated that he was speaking for 60 organizations was granted only four minutes.

Proponents and opponents of the FEPC bill were clearly divided along class lines. Speaking for the bill were representatives from the AFL, CIO, United Automobile Workers, Brotherhood of Teamsters and United Mine Workers as well as the NAACP, League of Women Voters, Jewish Service Organizations and American Jewish Congress.

Opponents of the measure were all employer spokesmen. They included representatives of the Illinois Manufacturers Association, Acme Steel Co., Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Aluminum Corporation of America and East Side Manufacturing Industries.

Governor Stratton, who had been reported as favoring passage of the FEPC bill, refused even to speak to the NAACP delegation. When delegation members went to his office for an interview, he offered merely to shake hands with them. When they proposed that the handshaking time be used to ask Stratton where he stood on the bill, the governor's aide became indignant, and, with an "Absolutely not, I'm very sorry" over his shoulder, he stalked back into Stratton's inner office.

Picketing Against Dixiecrats

Students at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, are shown carrying picket signs protesting appearance of Texas Gov. Allan Shivers at graduation excercises. Many students stayed away from ceremonies in protest against the Dixiecrat campaign to maintain Jim Crow schools in South.

From San Francisco

Bryson Verdict Challenged

Hugh Bryson, former president of the now defunct Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, was sentenced on June 14 to five years in prison and $10,000 fine. On May 25 a jury found him "guilty" of having lied in 1951 when he signed the non-communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley law.

Not satisfied with imposing a vindictive sentence (the maximum under the law), Federal Judge William C. Mathes set Bryson's bail at $50,000 while he appeals. This exorbitant sum is $20,000 higher than the bail recommended by the prosecutor.

Last May the jury acquitted Bryson of perjury in denying membership in the Communist Party, but found him "guilty" of having falsely denied "affiliation."

In arguing before Judge Mathes for a new trial, Richard Gladstein, Bryson's attorney, charged that the jury had been thoroughly confused as to the meaning of the term and had brought in their verdict without understanding it.

Indeed, when in the course of its deliberations the jury asked for a dictionary so that it could look up the meaning of "affiliation," Judge Mathes denied the request saying he would supply all the definitions.

Prior to the sentencing the American Civil Liberties Union joined Bryson's defense in contesting the term "affiliation." The civil liberties group submitted a brief to Judge Mathes pointing out that the conviction violated the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Amendment requires that a defendant be informed of the accusation against him.

Bryson will appeal the conviction.

From Pittsburgh

FEPC Measure Buried

For the fifth time in ten years an FEPC measure has been defeated in the Pennsylvania Legislature. After bottling the bill up in the Senate Education Committee for weeks, the committee members finally appointed a subcommittee to work on the measure that had already passed in the House.

When the bill was reported back to the Education Committee, it had been badly mangled. But even this bill was finally buried for good when the Committee, in secret ballot, voted not to report the bill to the floor of the Senate where a vote would have been taken in full view of the public.

The defeat of FEPC in Pennsylvania was facilitated to a large degree by the weak fight put up by the NAACP and the Statewide Committee for the FEPC. Both groups hastened to accept the emasculated version reported by the Education subcommittee only to find the full Committee disdainfully killing the measure altogether.

* * *

Joseph Mazzai, self-proclaimed FBI stool-pigeon and leading government informer locally, has accused John J. Mullen, a top CIO Steelworkers official, of being a member of the Communist Party. Mullen is a close associate of David J. McDonald, president of the CIO union.

Mazzai fingered Mullen before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in Washington in order to aid witch-hunting State Supreme Court Justice Mussmano. The latter claims that ever since he began his anti-"Communist" efforts, there have been attempts to frame him in a bribery case. Mussmano links Mullen with this alleged plot. Mullen is receiving strong support from the steel union and President McDonald.

Civil Liberties Fight in Newark Gains in Support

By Daniel Roberts

SWP Candidate for N. J. Senate, Essex County

NEWARK, June 22 — As the Militant goes to press, three teachers — Dr. Robert Lowenstein, Estelle Laba and Perry Zimmerman — await a Board of Education decision that will determine whether they and hundreds of other teachers are entitled to exercise constitutional rights without having to fear loss of livelihood.

Several thousand civil liberties champions in Newark wait with them for ruling which the Board is scheduled to hand down tomorrow.

The teachers were suspended because they invoked the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee, when the Walter group held hearings in Newark.

Their refusal to answer the witch-hunting committee's questions constituted conduct "unbecoming a teacher" according to Edward F. Kennelly, Newark schools superintendent.

ORGANIZED FIGHT

"The constitutional rights of teachers and all other individuals must be respected," was the answer given Kennelly by numerous liberal organizations, labor groups and individual residents. A surprisingly strong civil liberties movement arose over the issue from the moment the teachers were suspended on May 20.

The Newark Teachers Union endorsed the right of the teachers to invoke the privilege against self-incrimination and has collected funds for the teachers.

The Newark Teachers Defense Committee mailed 17,000 copies of a pamphlet to parents in the three schools affected. The pamphlet cites the excellent teaching record of each of the three. It also explains that they invoked the Fifth Amendment because they faced prosecution for contempt or on a trumped-up perjury charge if they answered its questions.

Some twenty liberal organizations — including the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, American Veterans Committee and Newark Church Fellowship — met last week to coordinate action in defense of the teachers. The organizations reportedly decided to send small delegations to visit each member of the Board of Education to urge reinstatement of the teachers.

A number of these organizations also joined to sponsor a public meeting on June 21 in defense of the Fifth Amendment. Nearly 1,000 people packed an Essex House Hall to hear Patrick Malin Murphy, Executive Director of the ACLU defend the teachers' right to invoke the constitutional privilege.

Newark residents' support has been shown in letters published in the "What Readers Have To Say" column of the Newark Evening News. During the last four weeks, letters have appeared almost daily. Expressions in favor of the teachers' reinstatement have outnumbered those opposed by a ratio of about five to one.

* * *

JUNE 23 — The Newark Board of Education voted five to four to dismiss the three teachers. The close vote reflected the strong opposition to the witch-hunting measure. Voting for reinstatement were Morris Fuchs, President of the Essex Trades Council, AFL, Mrs. Joseph H. Schotland, Mrs. Mancusi-Ungaro and Mrs. Benjamin Leon. Mrs. Schotland made a vigorous defense of the right of teachers to invoke the Fifth Amendment. The three teachers will take their case to court. " We will be back in the classroom," stated Perry Zimmerman.

SWP Speakers Debate Professors On Causes of War

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Two representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking at an Ohio State University panel discussion on May 31, blamed wars and depressions on the capitalist system of production.

Jean Simon, secretary of the Ohio SWP and Wilson Graves, member of the Cleveland Branch debated with Prof. Robert Patton of the Ohio State Economic Department and Prof. Harold Zink, of the Political Science Department.

Students active in organizing the meeting hailed it as indicating a healthy revival of interest in Marxist and other radical ideas not formally taught at the University. This is reportedly the first time since the controversy over the "gag" rule imposed by the trustees four years ago that anti-capitalist speakers have appeared at a public meeting on campus.

According to one student, plans for the discussion panel on the causes of wars and depressions had met with considerable "timidity," but no opposition except from one faculty member. He had expressed the view that "the college campus is not the place to compare ideas." "But we just dismissed that as irrational thinking and went ahead," said the student.

In their presentations the SWP speakers explained that modern wars and depressions are caused by capitalism's inability to find markets for mounting surpluses of commodities, which the workers produce but cannot buy back because they are paid wages equal only to a fraction of the value their labor creates.

The professors took issue with the Marxist view as "oversimplification," claiming that such "human factors" as the "power drive" of dictators, the desire to "get something for nothing" and "ideological differences" were as important or more important than the "economic factor" as causes of war.

The meeting — sponsored by Sigma Alpha Sigma, social administration fraternity, the Embassy Club, consisting in large part of foreign students, and the Commonwealth Club — was attended by a high percentage of exchange students. Particular interest in the Marxist analysis of the causes of war was expressed in questions by young people from Nigeria, Korea and other colonial countries.

A long and unbiased account of the meeting was printed in the June 3 Ohio State Lantern, student newspaper.

...NAACP Convention Report

(Continued from page 1)

segregation, Marshall said, "We are beginning to get advice publicly and privately from alleged friends urging us not to be too impatient, not to rock the boat, not to push ahead too rapidly.

"I believe it is time we examined this advice and gave these advisors the facts of life. In regard to the elimination of unconstitutional racial discrimination in this country," he asserted, "Negroes are impatient. They are insistent. They are determined to get their rights as rapidly as possible."

PRAISES HIGH COURT

Marshall went out of his way to hail the Supreme Court's ruling on implementing its desegregation decision of last year. In trying to counter dissapointment with the Court's ruling, he resorted to some rather far-fetched exaggerations: "Despite what anyone in the audience might think," he argued, "the only thing more the Supreme Court could have done would be to send an automobile down to take the colored children to school."

It would have been more to the point if Marshall had proposed the Supreme Court send down an armored car to do this job in view of the belligerent determination of the Southern racists to prevent integration at all costs.

When the Supreme Court's May 31, 1955 decision was announced, many in the Negro community and some local leaders of the NAACP regarded it as a capitulation to the white supremacists.

One delegate from the Deep South in a corridor discussion of Marshall's speech probably summed up the majority sentiment in the convention when he said: "It doesn't matter how good or bad the last Supreme Court decision was. We've got it. So let's make the most of it we can."

HITS TWO PARTIES

Another highlight of the convention so far, was the report by Clarence Mitchell, Director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau. It was a merciless castigation of both Big Business parties.

"Republicans and Democrats have united in a bi-partisan program of smothering civil rights legislation in the 84th Congress," he said. "At one end of Pennsylvania Avenue, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (Democrat) stands ever ready to douse the smallest spark of positive action with a bucket of harmony. At the other end, the President (Republican) maintains complete silence on much needed civil rights bills, but becomes very vocal in opposig vital civil rights amendments.

Mitchell, however, gave no solution to the dilemma of a no-good Republican Party vs. a no-good Democratic Party. Formation of a new independent party, representing labor and the Negro people, was not mentioned. With a sigh of relief, Mitchell finished by saying: **"Fortunately, this is 1955 and we need not make a decision now on how we shall vote in 1956."**

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